

An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Ancient Painting, preserved at Cowdray in Suffex, (the Seat of Lord Viscount Montague): representing the Procession of King Edward VI. from the Tower of London to Westminster, February 19th, A. D. 1547, previous to his Coronation.

THE Print which accompanies this account is engraved from one of those curious Historical Paintings which have been long since introduced to the notice of this Society by our late learned Vice President Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Baronet, in an account of some ancient Historical Paintings at Cowdray in Suffex, published in the Transactions of this Society, Archaeologia, vol. III. p. 239—272. In that Memoir may be seen a minute description of many of those valuable representations which preserve several interesting parts of our national events, and exhibit to our view the state of the arts, and the dresses, manners, and usages, which prevailed amongst our ancestors about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Painting which is now the object of our attention fills one of the compartments on the right-hand side of the great dining-room in that noble mansion; and contains the Procession of King Edward VI. from the Tower of London to Westminster, the day preceding that of his Coronation.

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At the decease of King Henry VIII., Edward his son and successor was but nine years and three months old. The young monarch was then at Hertford, together with the Princess Elizabeth his sister; and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Brown, were deputed by the council to inform their new Sovereign of the death of his father, and to conduct him to the Tower of London; where, upon his arrival, he was proclaimed King, on the 31st of January, A. D. 1546-7.

When the regency was settled in pursuance of the will of the deceased King, the earl of Hertford, uncle to the young King, was created duke of Somerset, and chosen protector of the realm, and governor of the King's person. And the funeral obsequies of King Henry having been performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windsor, on the 16th of February, preparations were made to solemnize the Coronation of King Edward. The duke of Somerset was created earl marshall of England for life; Henry marquis of Dorset was appointed to the office of great constable of England * for the 19th day of February only, which is expressed in the patent to be the day immediately preceding the day of solemnizing the King's intended Coronation; and John lord Russell, keeper of the privy seal, was appointed high steward of England for the 20th day of February only. Many dignities and honours were conferred; and forty Knights of the

* Rymer, tom xv. p. 129.

Bath were made, to add to the splendour of the ceremony. A new form was drawn for the Coronation *, to relieve the young King as much as possible from the fatigue which it would necessarily occasion to one of his tender years.

The order for the procession from the Tower to Westminster is fortunately in being †, and will afford great assistance in describing the picture now before us: and although the whole of the ceremonial could not be represented by the painter, yet the manner of his giving it, being a bird's-eye view, enabled him to convey a more comprehensive representation of the scene than any other mode of description would have allowed him to do.

“ On Saturday the 19th day of February (says the
“ order) about one of the clock in the afternoon, the
“ King's Majesty proceeded from the Tower through
“ the city of London in most royal and goodly wise
“ towards his palace of Westminster. The streets
“ through all the way where the King should pass were
“ well gravelled in every place, and railed on the one
“ side from Grace Church-street to the Little Conduit
“ in Cheap, to the intent that the horses should not
“ slide on the pavement, nor the people be hurt by the
“ horses in the high streets. Within these rails stood
“ the crafts along in their order, to the Little Conduit
“ aforesaid, where stood the aldermen. On the other
“ side the streets, in many places, stood priests and

* See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. II. Collect. p. 93.

† See it in Leland's Collectan. Vol. IV. p. 310. printed from a MS. formerly belonging to William Le Neve, Norroy.

“ clerks with their crosses and censors, and in their best
“ ornaments, to cense the King; and all the way where
“ the King should pass, on either side, were the win-
“ dows and ways garnished with cloths of tapestry, arras,
“ cloths of gold and of silver, with cushions of the same,
“ garnished with streamers and banners, as richly as
“ might be devised. In many places were ordained
“ pageants and devices, and therein goodly melody, and
“ eloquent speeches treating of noble histories, to the
“ joyful welcoming and respect of so noble a King.”

The order of the procession is then declared to be as followeth :

Imprimis. The King's messengers, two and two.

Gentlemen, two and two.

Strangers, ambassadors' servants, two and two.

Trumpeters, cloathed in red damask, two and two.

Chaplains without dignity.

Gentlemen and noblemen's sons.

The Barons after their estates.

Bishops.

Earls' sons.

Marquises' sons.

Dukes' younger sons.

Earls.

Marquises.

Dukes.

The comptroller of the household and the secretary of Venice.

The treasurer of the King's house, and one of the ambassadors of the Protestants.

Sir

from the Tower of London to Westminster.

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Sir William Peters, secretary, with another ambassador of the Protestants.

The King's almoner, with another ambassador of the Protestants.

Sir William Paget, secretary, with duke Philip of Almain.

The lord admiral, with one of the Scottish ambassadors.

The lord privy seal, with another of the Scottish ambassadors.

The lord great master, with Poley, baron de la Grade de France.

The lord chancellor, with the French King's ambassadors.

The archbishop of Canterbury, with the Emperor's ambassadors.

Sir Percival Hart, knight harbinger, bearing the King's Majesty's cloak and hat.

Two gentlemen ushers, John Norrys and William Rainsford, representing the two states of Normandy and Guyenn, cloathed in robes of scarlet, furred with mynever, and caps of state on their heads, carrying about them, in bawdrickwise, two mantles of scarlet velvet.

Gartr in the King's coat of arms on the right hand, and the mayor of London carrying a mace on the left.

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The ſword, born by the conſtable of England for that time, viz. the marquis of Dorſet.

On the marquis's right hand, the earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain of England.

And on the left hand, the earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain, ſupplying the room as earl marſhall, in lieu of the Lord Protector.

A little before the King, the duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector.

The King's Maſteſty, richly appaſealed with a gown of cloth of ſilver, all over embroidered with damask gold, with a girdle of white velvet, wrought with Venice ſilver, garniſhed with precious ſtones, as rubies and diamonds, with true lovers' knots of pearls; a doublet of white velvet embroidered with Venice ſilver garniſhed with the like precious ſtones and pearls, and a pair of buſkins with white velvet. On his horſe was a capariſon of crimſon ſattin, embroidered with pearls and damask gold.

His Highneſs's footmen in their rich coats, going about his grace on either ſide of the canopy; the canopy being born by knights, with certain aſſiſtants to them.

Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the Horſe, leading a goodly courſer of honour very richly trapped.

Sir Francis Bryant, maſter of the Henchmen, riding alone. The penſioners and men of arms with their poll axes, going on either ſide of the way on foot from the beginning of the two eſtates of Normandy and Guyenn, and continuing till the gentlemen of the privy chamber.

Gentlemen and grooms of the privy chamber riding two and two. After them the captain of the guard riding alone.

The guard, five in a rank on foot, with their halberts in their hands.

The noblemen and gentlemen's servants going in order after the degrees and states of their masters on foot.

The order of the procession then describes the temporary emblematical ornaments and devices which were placed at the Conduit in Cornhill, at the Standard, at the Great Conduit, at the Cross, and at the Little Conduit in Cheapside, and at the entrance into St. Paul's Church Yard; and the sumptuous decorations which were there exhibited for the amusement of the young King, and the speeches which were intended to have been made, had the time permitted, by young persons in the characters of Royalty, Justice, Truth, Faith, Mercy, &c. accompanied with musical instruments of various kinds; and informs us that somewhat beyond the Cross in Cheapside, "the mayor of London, with his brethren the aldermen, attended upon the King's highness in their seemly apparell, and received his grace with a proposition pronounced by the recorder, Mr. Masbroke, and Mr. Chamberlain of London; and there they presented his highness with a purse, having a thousand marks of gold in it; the which his grace received and gave them thanks."

"When the King was advanced almost to St. George's Church in Paul's Church-yard, (continues the order of the procession) there was a rope as great as the cable of a ship, stretched in length from the battle-ments

“ments of Paul’s steeple, and with a great anchor at
“one end fastened a little before Mr. Dean of Paul’s
“house-gate; and when his Majesty approached near
“the same, there came a man, a stranger, being a native
“of Arragon, lying on the rope, his head forward, cast-
“ing his arms and legs abroad, running on his breast
“on the rope from the battlements to the ground, as
“if it had been an arrow out of a bow, and stayed on
“the ground; then he came to the King’s Majesty and
“kissed his foot, and so after certain words to his high-
“ness, departed from him again, and went upwards
“upon the rope till he was come over the midst of the
“church-yard, where he, having a rope about him,
“played certain misteries on the rope, as tumbling and
“casting one leg from another; then took he the rope
“and tied it to the cable, and tied himself by the right
“leg, a little beneath the wrist of the foot, and hung
“by the one leg a certain space, and after recovered
“himself up again with the said rope, and unknit the
“knot and came down again; which stayed his Ma-
“jesty with all the train a good space of time.”

The procession then advanced along Fleet-street, to the Great Conduit there, then through Temple-bar, and so on to the King’s Palace at Westminster, where all the noblemen alighted, and stood in order as they had conducted his Highness; and at the hall-door he took his leave of the ambassadors, giving them thanks for their pains, and retired into his chamber. Then commandment was given to all the noblemen and others to be at Westminster the next day by seven of the clock in the morning, in
their

their best array, to give their attendance upon the Coronation.

Our Picture nearly corresponds with this ceremonial. It represents the procession the whole distance from the Tower to Westminster, at the point of time when the King was in Cheapside, having just passed the celebrated cross which then stood in that street. The cavalcade is proceeding through the arched gate-way leading into St. Paul's church-yard, where it is lost for a time, but is again seen at the top of Ludgate-street, advancing through Ludgate and Temple Bar, and passes Charing-cross to the Palace at Westminster. The part meant principally to be represented is the south side of Cheapside, from Bow Church to the entrance into St. Paul's Church-yard. The Great Conduit near Bow Church, the Cross, and the Little Conduit at the west end of Cheapside, are given. The balconies and windows of all the houses on the left-hand side of the street are crowded with spectators, and decorated with rich tapestry, cloths of gold, arras, and celebrated historical paintings, one whereof is evidently a copy from Raphael's famous picture of St. George on horse-back; a print of which is engraven by Vosterman. The shops are set out with cups, vases, beakers, jars, and other elegant pieces of goldsmiths' work. The master of each house is standing at his shop-door, and saluting the King as he passes. On the opposite side of the street the several crafts or companies of the city are ranged, dressed in their livery-gowns, having their hoods over their shoulders, with the master of

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each company at its head. These form a line from Bow Church to the Little Conduit, where was the station for the aldermen. Over the archway into St. Paul's Church-yard are persons ready to entertain the King on his approach with speeches. Beyond Cheapside is a view from the north of St. Paul's Church, with its high spire. From Ludgate-hill, through Temple-bar, to Charing-cross and Westminster, the space is very open, having only a few houses interspersed here and there. The back-ground represents a view of London-bridge, the church of St. Mary Overy, the bishop of Winchester's Palace, and the Bankside in Southwark. And at a great distance in the country, to the left, is seen the river Ravensbourn, and the Royal Palace at Eltham.

The buildings represented in the line of the procession, which more immediately attract our attention, are the Tower of London, Bow Church, the Great Conduit, the Cross, the Little Conduit, and Goldsmith's-row in Cheapside, the church of St. Paul's in its then state, with its high spire, Ludgate, and Temple-bar, Charing-cross, and the Palace at Westminster. The view from the gate on Tower-hill to Cheapside is fore-shortened, or almost entirely concealed; and the parts beyond Temple-bar, all the way to Westminster, are contracted, so as to enable the painter to exhibit the whole distance to the view of the spectator.

The accuracy of these buildings is confirmed by a comparison between this picture and several ancient descriptions;

descriptions; and by the testimony of co-eval historians. A beautiful view of London, in a small painting preserved in the Royal Library in the British Museum, 16 F. 2. made in the reign of king Henry VII. represents that monarch looking out of the White Tower upon a procession of a knight, or an ambassador, arriving within the Tower-gates; and the King afterwards receives and embraces him. That Painting is probably the oldest view of London now extant, and is a great curiosity. The Tower, the river Thames, London-bridge, Bow Church with its arches, St. Paul's Church with its tall spire, and Westminster-abbey at a distance, are all represented in that painting, and nearly correspond with the view of those buildings preserved in our piece; with this difference, that the view in the Museum was taken from the south side, and ours from the north side of London. A plan of the Tower of London, from a survey made in 1597, and the plan of London made by Aggas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, both published by this Society, give views of the Tower in the state it is here represented. There is no separate view of the old Bow Church known to be extant, but several of the views of London made before the dreadful conflagration in 1666, represent that church, with its arched steeple, as it is here given. "From the arches wherewith the steeple was embellished," says Stow*, "this church derived its name, *de arcubus*. It was erected in the time of William the Conqueror, and was the first church

* Survey of London, p. 268.

“ in the city that was built with arches.—The steeple
 “ in a great measure fell down in 1271, and slew
 “ several persons, and was a long time before it was
 “ rebuilt.—In 1512 the steeple was finished, except the
 “ lanthorns and bows, which were afterwards built of
 “ stone, brought from Caen in Normandy.” This
 ancient church, on which the new one is founded, is
 now converted into a sepulchral repository; the struc-
 ture of which consists of two rows of small circular
 pillars* (the capitals whereof are now about two feet
 and a half above the floor of the vault, which shews
 the ground to be greatly raised in this neighbour-
 hood), which form three isles. “This church,” adds
 Stow, “I take to be one of the oldest Christian temples
 “ in Great Britain.”

The Great Conduit in Cheapside was originally
 erected about the year 1285, when it was castellated
 with stone, and cisterned with lead. It was supplied
 with sweet water, conveyed in pipes of lead under
 ground from springs in the manor of Tyburn. These
 springs were purchased by the mayor, aldermen, and
 citizens, of London, in 1237, (21 Henry III.) † from
 Gilbert de Sanford, and Alice the wife of William de
 Chabham; and the citizens were at a great expence
 in completing the undertaking. To render it more
 useful, in 1439 the mayor and citizens obtained from
 the abbot and convent of Westminster the grant of a
 fountain in a field called Oxlese, within the lands and

* Mairland's Hist. of Lond. 1138.

† Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 29. 33.

precinct of the manor of Paddington, with the free use thereof; provided there was sufficient water left for the farmers and tenants of that manor; and that the pipes should not be laid in any part of the lands within the manor of Hide, which then belonged to the church of Westminster. In 1443 king Henry VI. granted a licence to the mayor and citizens of London to erect the conduit a-new; and it was again re-built and enlarged, in 1479, by Thomas Ilame, one of the sheriffs, in the manner represented in our picture.

The Great Cross next presents itself. This was one of the crosses erected by King Edward I. in memory of Eleanor his Queen. In 1484 this cross was re-edified at the charge of divers citizens: John Fisher, mercer, contributed 600 marks towards it. It was new-gilt all over in 1522, against the coming of the Emperor Charles V. and was new-burnished against the Coronation of Edward VI. and also in 1553, against the Coronation of Queen Mary; and gilt in 1554, against the coming-in of King Philip. When the city became more populous, it was presented by divers juries and quests of wardmote, as standing in the highway, to the hindrance of carriages, &c. but its demolition could not be obtained. In the year 1581, the people being offended at the emblematical figures wherewith the cross was decorated*, on the 21st of June in the night it was almost demolished by persons unknown, who stripped it of its images, and

* These, according to Stow, p. 279, were the Virgin Mary, Edward the Confessor, the Resurrection of Christ, figures of Angels, &c.

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broke and defaced its ornaments. A proclamation was issued to discover the offenders, but without effect; and the figures were repaired. The people, however, took every opportunity to pillage and destroy it. In the year 1599 the timber of the cross being decayed within, the lead was taken down, with an intention to place a pyramid in its stead; but an order was sent from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, in her Majesty's name, commanding the cross to be forthwith repaired, and placed again as it formerly stood. Notwithstanding this order, nothing was done for near a year after; whereupon the Privy Council wrote again to the Lord Mayor, ordering him, in the name of the Queen, without further delay, to fulfill her Majesty's princely care therein, respecting the antiquity and continuance of that monument, as an emblem of Christianity. After this, a cross of timber was framed and set up, covered with lead, and gilded: but, a few nights after, the image of our Lady was again defaced, by plucking off her crown, and almost her head, taking her child from her, and stabbing her in the breast, &c. Iron rails were put round the cross, to preserve it, on the accession of King James I. when it was repaired and beautified for the last time; and in 1643 it was completely demolished.

The south side of Cheapside is seen in a highly embellished state. Maitland informs us *, that the city then abounded in riches and splendour. "It was beautiful, says he, to behold the glorious appearance of goldsmiths' shops in the south row of Cheapside,

* Vol. I. p. 301.

“ which



“ which in a course reached from the Old Change to
“ Bucklersbury, exclusive of four shops only of other
“ trades in all that space.” The gateway leading out
of Cheapside into St. Paul’s Church-yard remained
until the year 1662, when an act of parliament was
made for enlarging divers narrow passages in the city;
and this obstruction was accordingly removed.

The Church of St. Paul is described by several histori-
ans; more especially by Stow and Sir William Dugdale,
and the various changes it underwent may there be
seen*. They inform us that a fire happened in the
steeple in 1444, occasioned by lightning, the damage
done by which was not repaired till 1462; when a
weather-cock, made of copper and gilt, was set up; the
length of it from head to tail being four feet, and the
breadth over the wings three and a half feet, and the
weight of it forty pounds; the shaft whereon it stood
was fifteen feet six inches long, and the traverse five
feet ten inches, made of firm oak, having a covering
of lead plated with copper; the compass of the ball
was nine feet one inch, as appeared by measure at the
taking it down for its better repair in 1553.

But not long after this (continues the account) on the
4th of June 1561, 3d of Queen Elizabeth, a far worse
mischance befell it (as supposed) by lightning also; but
the sexton, before he died, confessed it was not so. It was
set on fire about three yards from the top, which consumed
the whole spire, and spread itself to the upper roof of the
church and isles, totally burning, within the space of
four hours, all the rafters, and what else was combus-

* Dugdale, 133. Stow, 353, b.

tible; the damage done cost 6702*l.* and was five years in repairing, but no spire was then put up; which accounts for the views made subsequent to that period, representing it with a low square tower without a spire; but proves the accuracy of the present representation. But in a print engraved by J. Wood, 1754, from a very old painting, the spire appears on the square tower. If the not having described the remarkable spectacle of the flying Spaniard from the battlements of the steeple should be objected as a want of fidelity in the painter; it may be answered, that the order of the procession expressly informs us, that the cable was not let down from the battlements till the King was arrived in the Church-yard, near St. George's Church*; and it would have been an anachronism in point of time, to have represented that scene in this picture, when the King was not advanced much farther than Bow Church in Cheapside. Many persons are however seen upon the north side of the battlements of the steeple, waiting the approach of the King, to assist the Spaniard to exhibit his feats, which were performed near the Dean's gateway on the south side of the church; and therefore could not be visible in a view taken from the opposite side of the building.

Ludgate is represented; and farther on Temple Bar is seen.

“In ancient times, says Maitland†, at Temple Bar
“were only posts, rails, and a chain, as at Holborn,

* This should be St. Gregory's Church, which stood on the south-west side of the church of St. Paul, nearly opposite to the Dean's gateway.

† Vol. II. p. 990.

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“ Smithfield, and Whitechapel Bars. Afterwards there
“ was a house of timber erected across the street, with
“ a narrow gate-way, and an entry on the south side of
“ it under the house; but since the great fire there is
“ erected a stately gate, built of Portland stone, of the
“ Corinthian order.”

The space beyond Temple Bar is truly represented to be almost destitute of buildings. An act was made in the 24th year of Henry VIII. cap. 11. directing, that the streetway between Charing Cross and Strand Cross (near where Somerset Place is now situated) in the suburbs of London, should be sufficiently paved and maintained at the charge of the owners of the adjoining lands; and the Stat. of the 34th and 35th of Hen. VIII. cap. 12. recites, that “ the way leading without
“ Temple Bar, westward, unto Clement’s Inn gates,
“ New Inn gates, and Drury Place, the bridge called
“ Strand Bridge *, and the way leading from the said
“ bridge towards Temple Bar; the lane called Foskue
“ Lane, from the garden and tenement of the bishop of
“ Lichfield, and the gardens and tenement, called the
“ Bell and Proctors, down to the Strand Bridge, were
“ very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous
“ and noysome, and necessary to be kept clean, for the
“ avoiding of corrupt savours and occasions of pesti-
“ lence, and directs the same to be paved and main-
“ tained at the expence of those who had lands or tene-
“ ments adjoining thereto.” These authorities shew that the Strand was not then a continued street, but had only some buildings sparingly erected upon it.

* Strand Bridge was near where Salisbury-street now is.

Howell, in his *Londinopolis**, tells us, "that London and Westminster were once above a mile asunder, but by insensible coalition and increase of people they came at last to be united. The Union with Scotland in 1603, he adds, did not a little conduce to make this union of London and Westminster; for the Scots, multiplying here mightily, nestled themselves about the court, so that the Strand, from mud walls and thatched houses, came to the perfection of buildings it was in his time."

Charing Cross was one of those marks of commemoration which King Edward I. erected for Eleanor his beloved Queen. It underwent repairs and changes at different times, and in part continued till the Civil Wars, in the last century, when it was destroyed as a monument of superstition. Near this stood the hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, a cell to a priory of that name in Navarre, in Spain. It was founded and endowed by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Henry III. and after the dissolution it came into the possession of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (says Stow), who caused it to be demolished in the reign of King James I. and upon the site thereof erected the stately edifice since called Northumberland House. The greater part of the old house was built by Bernard Jansen: the frontispiece, which was of stone, was the work of Gerard Christmass, who gave the design of Aldersgate. The south side of the square, the front of which towards the garden is very grand and stately, was built by Inigo Jones. The two wings ex-

* Published in 1657.

tending from the garden-front towards the Thames were built by Charles duke of Somerset. In 1750 this noble mansion was thoroughly repaired by the then earl and countess of Northumberland, when the four sides of the court were new faced with Portland stone, and finished in the Roman stile of architecture.

Advancing forward is seen the palace at Whitehall, which had been anciently the residence of the Kings of Scotland, when they came to London to attend the parliament. It was afterwards the residence of the Archbishops of York, in whose possession it continued, till, by an exchange made between King Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, this palace came into the hands of that King, who repaired and beautified it.

The church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark is depicted according to old views of the tower of that church; and the Bankside, Lambeth Marsh, and the Surry side of the Thames, are given, nearly in the same naked state in which they are laid down in the maps made about that period.

To trace the situation and resemblance of all the buildings here exhibited, would be a work too tedious to attempt; but the accuracy of the painter being proved by authorities not to be doubted, with respect to the known and principal objects depicted by him, it may be reasonably conjectured, that he was equally faithful in giving the subordinate buildings in the piece.

These paintings at Cowdray have generally been ascribed to Hans Holbein. Sir Joseph Ayloffe was of opinion, that they were not the work of that celebrated master, but rather supposes them to have been
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the production of Theodore Bernardi, who, some years after painted in the south transept of Chichester cathedral the portraits of the kings of England and the bishops of that see, and afterwards settled with his family in that part of Suffex. Whoever the painter might be, many of the figures therein represented are finely executed; and, according to the remark of the ingenious author of *Anecdotes of Painting in England**, "the histories, habits, and customs of the times, represented in these paintings, make the room which contains them a singular curiosity."

* Vol. I. p. 94.



